

Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 SS-15 NSCE-00 NSC-05

CCO-00 USIE-00 PA-01 /033 W

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O 082025Z AUG 76 ZFF-4

FM USDEL SECRETARY LAHORE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE

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FOR S/PRS; PASS NSC FOR MR. SCOWCROFT AND WHITE HOUSE FOR
MR. NESUEN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: EXCHANGE OF DINNER TOASTS (AUGUST 8, 1976)

DR. KISSINGER'S REMARKS

1. MR. PRIME MINISTER, MRS. BHUTTO, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, IT
IS ALWAYS A JOY FOR ME TO VISIT PAKISTAN, BUT THERE ALWAYS
OCCURS A MOMENT OF TERROR WHEN I HAVE TO FOLLOW ONE OF THE GREAT
ORATORS OF OUR PERIOD, WHO NOT ONLY SPEAKS MORE ELOQUENTLY THAN
I DO BUT WITH A BETTER ENGLISH THAN I POSSESS. I THINK ALL THE
DISTINGUISHED GUESTS HERE HAVE UNDERSTOOD SOME OF THE SUBTLE
POINTS THAT THE PRIME MINISTER MADE. IT IS CLEAR THAT I HAVE

NEVER TAMED RIVERS AND THEREFORE OUR MATCH TOMORROW WILL BE
INHERENTLY UNEQUAL. BUT IF BY ANY CHANCE I SHOULD ON THIS OR THAT
POINT RISE TO THE OCCASION, IT IS ALSO CLEAR TO ME WHAT IS WAIT-
ING FOR ME UNDERNEATH. SO AS FAR AS I CAN SEE, THE NEGOTIATIONS
TOMORROW WILL CONCERN PRIMARILY THE RATE AT WHICH I ACQUIESCE TO
THE PROPOSALS OF THE DISTINGUISHED PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN.

2. WHEN I WAS A PROFESSOR, MANY LEARNED ARTICLES WERE WRITTEN
ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT INDIVIDUALS MADE A DIFFERENCE IN HISTORY, OR
WHETHER HISTORY RESULTED FROM OBJECTIVE FACTORS THAT WOULD TAKE
THE SAME COURSE NO MATTER WHO LED HIS COUNTRY. I BELIEVE THAT ALL
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OF US WHO HAVE HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF KNOWING AND WORKING WITH THE

PRIME MINISTER UNDERSTAND THAT INDIVIDUALS DO MAKE A DIFFERENCE. WE KNOW HOW HE TOOK OVER THIS COUNTRY IN A TRAGIC AND DESPERATE PERIOD AND HOW HE HAS RETURNED IT TO INTERNATIONAL RESPECT, TO SELFCONFIDENCE, AND TO A MORE IMPORTANT ROLE THAN IT HAS EVER PLAYED BEFORE. IN FACT, THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SUCCEEDED SO WELL IN THIS TASK THAT HE NOW FINDS THAT HE HAS TIME AVAILABLE NOT ONLY TO REFORM HIS OWN COUNTRY BUT OCCASIONALLY TO LECTURE SOME OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES. AND THOSE OF US WHO HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO THIS ADVICE SUFFER FROM THE FACT THAT HE ALMOST INVARIABLY TURNS OUT TO BE RIGHT.

3. THIS RELATIONSHIP THAT EXISTS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS OF GREAT SIGNIFICANCE BECAUSE BOTH OF OUR COUNTRIES HAVE GONE THROUGH NOT AN IDENTICAL EXPERIENCE BUT A SOMEWHAT PAREALLEL EXPERIENCE. THE UNITED STATES, TOO, HAS GONE THROUGH A RATHER DIFFICULT AND OCCASIONALLY TRAGIC PERIOD. WE TOO HAVE HAD TO ASK OURSELVES WHAT OUR FUNDAMENTAL VALUES WERE AND WHERE OUR BASIC INTERESTS LAY. WE TOO HAVE HAD TO FIGHT A WAR WHOSE OUTCOME DID NOT MEET WITH OUR EXPECTATIONS. AND WE TOO ARE GOING THROUGH A PROCESS OF REDEFINING AN INTERNATIONAL POSITION. I BELIEVE THAT THIS PROCESS WHEN IT IS CONCLUDED, AS I BELIEVE IT WILL BE AFTER OUR ELECTION, WILL SEE AMERICA EMERGE STRONGER AND MORE UNDERSTANDING OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF PEACE AND OF PROGRESS IN THE WORLD. THROUGH THESE YEARS OF DIFFICULTY THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE HAD, FOR DIFFERENT REASONS BUT WITH SOME OF THE SAME CHARACTERISTICS, YOUR PRIME MINISTER HAS NEVER FAILED TO STRESS THAT THE SECURITY OF THE WORLD DEPENDED IMPORTANTLY ON AMERICA'S UNDERSTANDING. AND THAT THE PROGRESS OF PROPLES DEPENDED CRUCIALLY ON AMERICA'S COMMITMENT. AND IF HE HAS SOMETIMES SCOLDED US, IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN FROM THE CONVICTION THAT THE FUTURE OF HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS AROUND THE WORLD DEPNDEN ON AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING AND ON THE AMERICAN DEDICATION. AND THIS IS WHY OUR TALKS HAVE BEEN SO IMPORTANT TO US AND SO FRUITFUL. TOMORROW I WILL ENTER WITH SOME TREPEDATION THIS CONFERENCE ROOM THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SO THREATENINGLY DESCRIBED. AND WE WILL TALK AGAIN ABOUT THE PROBLEMS THAT CONCERN US ALL. WHAT IS THE NATURE OF SECURITY? AND WHAT IS THE MEANING OF PROGRESS? NATIONS THAT FEEL SECURE ONLY IF THEY REDUCE EVERYONE TO IMPOTENCE BECOME OF CONCERN FOR ALL SURROUNDING COUNTRIES AND EVENTUALLY FOR THE SECURITY OF ALL OF MANKIND. AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EQUALLY WE UNDERSTAND THAT IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO HAVE LOCAL SECURITY AND YET WITHIN A REGION THERE MAY BE ELEMENTS OF INSECURITY. SO WHAT WE HAVE TO FIND IS AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF SECURITY WHICH PRESERVES BOTH THE GENERAL PEACE AND THE REGIONAL PEACE, WHICH BANISHES NOT ONLY THE FEAR OF GENERAL WAR BUT WHICH ALSO GIVES A SENSE OF SECURITY TO ALL THE INDIVIDUAL NATIONS WHOSE FATE MAY NOT BE ITSELF AFFECT THE GENERAL PEACE BUT THE EXAMPLE OF WHOSE DESTRUCTION OR THE IMPAIRMENT OF WHOSE

SECURITY WOULD HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THE GENERAL ATTITUDE OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD. WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF FEARSOME WEAPONS IN WHICH ONE MUST BALANCE SECURITY AGAINST UNIVERSAL CATAclysm. AND THESE ARE THE ISSUES WHICH WE WILL DISCUSS. IN THE CONTEXT HOWEVER OF WHAT WE HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED, THAT THE SOVEREIGN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF PAKISTAN ARE A MATTER OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES. (APPLAUSE) THAT WE WILL BE TALKING ABOUT METHODS OF SECURITY AND NOT THE PRINCIPLES. AND OF COURSE ONE ALSO HAS TO REALIZE THAT A WORLD CANNOT REST ON SECURITY ALONE BUT IT MUST HAVE A VISION OF A POSITIVE FUTURE IN WHICH MEN CAN IMPROVE THEIR STATUS AND REALIZE THEIR POTENTIALITY. AND IN THESE AREAS TOO, WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH OUR OLD FRIENDS IN PAKISTAN.

4. MR. PRIME MINISTER, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, PAKISTAN IS THE COUNTRY WHICH MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO LAUNCH OUR INITIATIVE TOWARDS CHINA. AN INITIATIVE WHICH WE BELIEVE IS IMPORTANT TO THE PEACE OF THE WORLD AND FOR WHICH (APPLAUSE) WE WILL NEVER FORGET THE ROLE THAT PAKISTAN HAS PLAYED IN THIS EFFORT. IN THE LIVES OF ALL NATIONS, THERE IS A PROCESS OF CONSTANT RENEWAL, AND NATIONS HAVE PERIODICALLY TO REPROCESS THEMSELVES. AND THEY HAVE TO DECIDE WHAT IT IS THAT IS WORTH REPROCESSING AND WHAT IT IS THAT IS BETTER LEFT ALONE. THIS IS THE NATURE OF HISTORY AND, NO DOUBT, WHEN WE HAVE OUR PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSIONS WE WILL REFLECT ABOUT THAT PROBLEM AS WELL. BUT FOR NOW, MR. PRIME MINISTER, LET ME SAY ON BELHALF OF ALL OF MY COLLEAGUES, WE FEEL THAT WE ARE HERE AMONG FRIENDS AND THAT YOU CAN ALSO COUNT ON OUR FRIENDSHIP. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE IN THE YEARS AHEAD AS WE HAVE IN THE PAST. WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO YOUR COUNTRY, WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO YOUR LEADERSHIP, AND I AM GRATEFUL TO HAVE HAD THIS OCCASION TO VISIT THIS BEAUTIFUL CITY AND LOOK FORWARD TO OUR TALKS TOMORROW.

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5. LET ME PROPOSE A TOAST TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND BEGUM BHUTTO AND TO THE LASTING FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PAKISTANI AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.
KISSINGER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SECTO, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 08 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: greeneet
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976SECTO20084
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760305-0561
From: SECRETARY LAHORE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760874/aaaacmxj.tel
Line Count: 158
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION PRS
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: greeneet
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21 JUN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <21 JUN 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <18 OCT 2004 by greeneet>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EXCHANGE OF DINNER TOASTS (AUGUST 8, 1976) DR. KISSINGER'S REMARKS
TAGS: OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006